

Saturday.  
Sept. 1861

Dear Mr. McKim.

The pleasure  
I had so lately, brings you first  
to my mind, when I think  
of Pennsylvania. I have  
just been writing to Garrison,  
to tell why I think his form  
of Memorial, admirably as it  
expressed for our Society, would be  
less successful in getting signa-  
tures from the people at  
large. Odd as it may seem  
in view of the past thirty  
years' experience, the people,  
that moral sense that  
bursts up as in Bull's Run -  
blind-precipitation, - driving  
we're Greeley's & weaker

\* To express that no theories or supposed theories, or uninducted course  
of action of ours, shall stand in the way of a people's redemption.

Cabinets before it, - does not  
wish to conciliate the South.

While it may be well for our  
Society to be in a conciliating  
attitude, the people will not  
follow that lead: - only the  
Secesh in disguise, that has  
<sup>misled</sup> misled the people so long, will  
appreciate that, & will despise  
us for it. The Moralists will truly  
appreciate the tempered instrument  
that have been attenuated through  
fire & flood, <sup>withholding</sup> getting their metal  
injured; - but only they. As to  
compensation, it is a two-prin-  
my remedy for a universal  
bankruptcy: - civil process  
in time of Revolution. But  
no matter what it is, the people  
will not sign to it any more  
than the abolitionists; they  
will be thinking, - cloaks  
& coats & skin all a-fur

Shadow of an Anti-Slavery Society? - we keep it with Holt & Co

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Dear I. Smith. The great idea  
of human Fraternity, - the very  
Preamble itself, - the very  
process of civilization, is to increase  
in ability to work & act together  
for the good of all to the injury of  
none, till finally the whole  
world is to all practical purposes  
one great nation - the only  
differences & divisions here  
for convenience of administration -  
not for selfish aggrandizement;  
for removal of tormenting re-  
strictions, not for creation &  
perpetuation of them. We were  
never a division society; our policy  
was never for national division  
privilege, but only for "no known  
work slaveholders," for the sake of  
creating the materials of a  
Union in freedom. I  
think the time is at hand.

our terms of association, &  
the fact of associated destine-  
will, (to say nothing of comrade-  
ship in arms for thirty years)  
keep us together in working  
order, if we do but continue  
to work, surrounded though  
we be with persons wanting  
the same thing as ourselves; —  
the proclamation of freedom  
as the only conservator of Na-  
tional existence. I know that  
I want the same thing that they  
do, by the fact that my one  
objection to slavery is, when  
summed up in a word, that  
it has not in it one single  
constituent of National existence.  
That there is nothing in it that  
can enable men to live  
advantageously together. We  
have handled it as an in-

individual concern because we were  
obliged to do so, till by the hand  
but we have made it a  
National concern, instead  
of a domestic institution of a  
Section: & now we must  
handle it as Statesmen. I don't  
say every man's work as  
a preacher is done: far from  
it. I only would not have  
Pillsbury fired at Johnson,  
as far as "potheans".  
What should a man be,  
who feels it within him to  
lead his fellows? — & not because  
he wants to be a leader, either.  
I am afraid Pillsbury suf-  
fered more in mind than he  
need have done, at the idea  
that Garrison was a leader, &  
he was not. It is a simple

Garrison's course in the Lib & in "Massachusetts" has  
been National & not to speech. I have said it has  
fact that every body noticed  
no blame or praise either  
way. All the world can't make  
a leader, in the house of  
commons, for example, I  
say but the main  
that the "right" or "the left"  
select for their mouth-piece.  
You shall follow me, I say"  
is not leadership, but the  
faculty of procuring the thing  
wanted in the way of a map  
just when every body would  
be swamped for the want of it.  
I digress. — Pardon. Now we  
must handle this matter as  
Statesmen. We can't act <sup>for</sup> slaves  
alone any longer, — The reasons  
are obvious — There are the  
poor whites & the great slave-  
holders now in our hands.  
I would have a popular

Do we say it has  
been the government. I  
could say, must

could say, Must I does help the government! "Do We say it has

from the the red-hot poker,  
of indemnifying themselves,  
& not of paying for heating  
the poker! "What!" - they will  
say: - "Does a man want  
more than his lunk & lakom-  
ers, & a years guarantee of  
four for wages like the next crops  
come in? - does he expect to be  
paid for the suppressed breeding-  
barrelles & the 20<sup>th</sup> century's  
trade, & all the imperial cal-  
culations upon Cuba & South  
America? - well! he won't get  
it - that's all." From a con-  
siderable experience of the kind  
of people who, as Living says,  
"bring the war," I am  
sure that they will put all  
they mean to pay, only under  
the hand of affliction & im-  
mortal substitution of hardships.

& they won't <sup>pay</sup> ~~smelt~~ for the loy-  
ally of mainlanders! "It's a pre-  
sumption upon <sup>disfranchised</sup> ~~seeds~~, & a bonus  
upon marked battens; they will say  
& they will be right. Then, let  
us consider if we & they do  
not want the same thing, as to  
an undivided Nationality? -  
How are we to get on with pass-  
port system, - Zollverein, fortress  
- frontier defences, standing army  
&c &c? all this, with border in-  
fringement & raids, & constant  
anxiety to be burnt in one's head,  
are the meaning of a divided  
Nationality; - <sup>disfranchised</sup> ~~a~~ lot of folks  
that had not sense of right  
enough to "Keep together first  
& rear" & drive out the  
disintegrator before it had  
crumbled a great nation into  
twelve tribes, & made, in the  
last analysis, of every man